

● The Progressive Review

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Making sense on drugs

David Beers

The drug control buzzword in Europe these days is "Harm Reduction," a logic that spurns legalization but also abandons the U.S. metaphor of war. Its success is declared by police and health workers alike because it draws drug users above ground while keeping in check a far more deadly menace than any narcotic -- AIDS transmitted by dirty needles. Dutch government figures show the nation's addict population, smaller per capita than the U.S.'s, is aging and not growing. HIV rates among injectors in the big cities levelled off at 20 percent three years ago. (In New York the HIV rate among junkies is around 60 percent.) In England's Liverpool, a harm reduction pioneer hard hit by heroin, that rate is now 1.6 percent. Harm reduction approaches take sometimes startling shape, as a recent visit to The Netherlands and Liverpool revealed:

» *Aggressive needle exchange.* Backed by a well-endowed national health system, 40 Dutch cities have syringe exchange programs. Amsterdam alone swaps nearly a million syringes a year through clinics and vans that crisscross the city, dispensing the heroin substitute methadone, clean needles and AIDS advice. The mobile approach reaches skittish users and also defuses citizens' "not in my

neighborhood" attitudes toward permanent clinics.

In Rotterdam the health department has installed vending machines to serve needle users when clinics are closed. Pop a used needle in the syringe-shaped slot, and out slides a wrapped, sterile replacement. In Liverpool, the government-funded needle exchange got started in 1986 by swapping bags of used needles with a major dealer. The state issues plastic boxes to heavy users and even sellers, so they can transport dozens of dirty needles safely back to the clinic, and get more.

» *Health centers for addicts.* "Drug services in this country have been aimed at people who want to stop," says Allan Parry, a founder of Liverpool's Maryland Center. "Now, because of AIDS, we have to reach drug users who want to carry on. And that means we have to change our services to suit their lifestyle." So his health clinic sends savvy workers out to find drug users and not only swap needles and hand out condoms, but teach them less dangerous ways of injecting. The center first attracts addicts by offering syringes, then ends up treating abscesses and other conditions they would rarely have revealed to the regular health care system.

» *A Junky union.* The Dutch government pays drug addicts to fight for their rights, giving nearly \$100,000 a year to the Amsterdam Junkybund (Junky Union) ensconced in an old canal-side office. Headed by non-drug using Rene Mol, addicts press for late-night needle exchanges and less police harassment. The Junkybund also advises the government on its drug programs and helped work the bugs out of the needle vending machine.

» *Public places where drug use*

is allowed. In Rotterdam, Father Hans Visser makes a spacious lavatory in the basement of his church available to addicts, and refuses to speculate on what goes on in the stalls. His logic is that "it is better than doing it out on the streets," and gives a chance to reach drug users with treatment and AIDS information, as well as religion. Motivated by similar logic, Switzerland allows addicts to shoot up openly in a city park. Holland's famed "coffee shops," where technically illegal cannabis can be bought and smoked, are sanctioned refuges because, as Dutch officials explain, they "split the market" so that a marijuana buyer won't be urged to try more dangerous stuff. Coffee shops caught purveying harder drugs, like cocaine or heroin, are promptly shut down.

» *Flexible drug enforcement.* Holland's "drug czar" Eddy Engelsman, perhaps Europe's leading harm reduction proponent, argues that severely criminalizing drug use just drives it underground, making health and crime problems worse. The best approach, says Engelsman, is nuanced, pragmatic, businesslike -- *zakelyk* is the Dutch word for all three rolled into one. Holland's drug laws carry stiff penalties for users and sellers, but police and judges are given wide latitude in how they are enforced; the official goal is that the punishment should never outweigh the harm that drug taking itself causes.

The Netherlands inverts the U.S. drug budget ratio, funnelling the bulk of its funds into prevention, treatment and research, funding a wide range of rehabilitation programs, and a curriculum that teaches kids the risks of all intoxicants. For fear of glamorizing

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Editor: Sam Smith
The Progressive Review
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009
202-232-5544
Fax Nbr: 202-234-6222
Compuserve ID: 72067,1525
Peacenet handle: ssmith
Gateway address from Internet, Bitnet:
ssmith@igc.org
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illegal drug-taking's outlaw appeal, "We keep a low profile," says Engelsman. "No mass media campaigns. No policemen into the school. No fingers pointing, saying you shouldn't do this and that. Reduce the problem, control the problem and don't make a moral issue of it."

» *Prescribed drugs for addicts*
From his bland offices in the town of Widness just outside Liverpool, psychiatrist John Marks carries out the most controversial of all harm reduction approaches. He writes out dozens of prescriptions for heroin, crack-style cocaine and amphetamines for local addicts who declare no intention of quitting. It has been British policy since 1924 that the best way to treat addicts is to wean them off drugs, but if that can't be done, to prescribe whatever the doctor thinks they need. Marks is one of the few doctors with the stomach to prescribe hard stuff, though. He points out that heroin addicts finance their habits by buying more than they need, cutting it with "something nice and heavy, like brick dust," pushing that to new recruits, thus expanding the industry. Marks asserts that his prescriptions have undermined that criminal pyramid scheme. "Nobody's going to pay a fortune to gangsters to get rubbish and perhaps be threatened, when they can get pure, excellent stuff from me for free." Given a way out of the black market hustle, Marks argues, his clients might now be able to imagine a future beyond the next fix, and if that leads them to decide they do want to kick, Marks is there to guide them into one of many free rehab programs. His willingness to cooperate with police -- he turns in patients he knows are committing drug crimes -- plus the fact that heroin street sales and drug-related crime have dropped in the Widness area, has the powers-that-be on his side, says Marks. While harm reduction methods can set an American's ethical compass tumbling, so can the increasingly skewed casualty figures from this country's own war on drugs. Although 80 percent of U.S. drug users are white, the majority arrested are black. (Drug prosecutions of white juveniles

actually dropped 15 percent between 1985 and 1988, while jumping 88 percent for minority youth.) The U.S. now incarcerates its citizens at a higher rate than any other nation, and three quarters of the new \$10 billion drug war budget continues to go to policing and prisons instead of education and treatment. Middle-class cocaine use is down, but inner-city crack and heroin use is on the rise and the HIV virus spread via dirty needles is today the number one source of AIDS in the United States, hitting minority groups especially hard.

Dr. Arnold Trebach, who teaches criminology at American University in Washington D.C. and heads the nearby private Drug Policy Foundation, argues that it is time this country began experimenting with harm reduction techniques, for the simple reason that they save more lives. "What the English and Dutch have taught me," he says, "is that you can disapprove of drug use, but you don't have to hate users."

Copyright PNS

A short history of the war against marijuana.

The following is abridged from a brief prepared at the request of federal judge John Elvin by University of Buffalo law professor Jeffrey Blum.

» Marijuana's easy detectability has resulted in close to 500,000 arrests annually.

» There is not now, nor has there ever been, credible medical evidence to justify this level of law enforcement effort against pot. Marijuana was first made illegal in the US in the early 20th century for two basic reasons: (1) as part of a harassment campaign to drive Mexican immigrants out of the southwest and later to provide protection to the paper and synthetic fiber industries in the 1930s. This industry, led by Du Pont, wanted to

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eliminate possible competition from the hemp plant. Hemp is believed to produce more than four times as much paper pulp as trees per acre.

» Under the New Deal, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, the chief financier of the Du Ponts, appointed his nephew, Harry Anslinger, to head the newly created Federal Bureau of Narcotics. Anslinger proceeded to misclassify marijuana, which is a mild stimulant and euphoriant, as a narcotic and to make its prohibition his agency's top priority. In addition, the end of prohibition threatened job loss for federal enforcement agents. These factors contributed to passage of the Marijuana Tax Act in 1937.

» Throughout the 1930s a lurid "reefer madness" campaign was carried on, led by the Hearst newspaper chain which owned considerable timber land. The campaign was based partly on the knowledge that Pancho Villa's army had smoked marijuana during the Mexican Revolution. It portrayed pot as a powerful drug capable of causing Anglo teenagers to turn instantly in hot blooded, irrational, violent people.

»The "reefer madness" campaign rested on a large number anecdotes, almost all of which have turned out to have been fictitious and traceable to a single doctor who has worked closely with Harry Anslinger. One indication of the stories's falsity is that during WWII and the Korean War, Anslinger himself shifted from calling marijuana a violence-inducing drug to calling it a menace that had the capacity to turn large number of young people into pacifists.

» Since marijuana began becoming popular among the white middle class in the mid-1960s, a number of specious medical studies alleging great harm from marijuana have been widely publicized. The most important of these involved force feeding rhesus monkeys marijuana smoke through gas masks. The monkeys consumed in a matter of minutes amounts of smoke far greater than what human beings would be likely to consume in a month. The monkeys suffered substantial brain damage that



appears to have been caused by carbon monoxide poisoning from smoke inhalation.

» Covert economic protectionism appears to have played a continuing role in sustaining marijuana prohibition during the last decade. Pharmaceutical companies, possibly alarmed at the increasingly widespread use of marijuana as a versatile home remedy, provided most the funding in the late 1970s and early 1980s for a network of parent groups against marijuana. By far the largest sponsor of the Partnership for Drug-free America, which blankets the airwaves with anti-marijuana commercials, has been the Philip Morris Company, which sells several brands of tobacco and is the parent company of Miller Beer.

Readers interested in becoming involved in the national alternative drug policy movement should contact the National Drug Strategy Network, 2000 L St. NW #702, DC 20036; or the Drug Policy Foundation, 4801 Massachusetts Avenue NW, #400, DC 20016.

A PAC has been formed to seek the recall of California Governor Pete Wilson. It is selling white T-shirts with lettering in your choice of Aqua, Florescent Lime Green or Hot Pink.

An American coup

A portion of one of the most bizarre, frightening and important stories of the 1980s has finally been covered by the national media. In the wake of a CNN expose, the *New York Times* reported on November 18:

Acting outside the Constitution in the early 1980s, a secret federal agency established a line of succession to the presidency to assure continued government in the event of a devastating nuclear attack, current and former United States officials said today.

The program was called "Continuity of Government." In the words of a recent report by the Fund for Constitutional Government, "succession or succession-by-designation would be implemented by unknown and perhaps unelected persons who would pick three potential successor presidents in advance of an emergency. These potential successors to the Oval Office may not be elected, and they are not confirmed by Congress."

According to CNN, the list eventually grew to 17 names and included Howard Baker, Richard Helms, Jeane Kirkpatrick, James Schlesinger, Richard Thornberg,

Ballot access groups

Here are some groups working on ballot access issues, compiled by Ballot Access News

1. ACLU, American Civil Liberties Union, has been for fair ballot access ever since 1940, when it recommended that requirements be no greater than of one-tenth of 1%. 132 W. 43rd St., New York, NY 10036, (212) 944-9800.

2. COFOE, the Coalition for Free and Open Elections. Dues of \$10 entitles one to membership with no expiration date; this also includes a one-year subscription to Ballot Access News (or a one-year renewal). Address: Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York NY 10011. Membership applications can also be sent to 3201 Baker St., San Francisco, CA 94123.

3. COALITION TO END THE PERMANENT CONGRESS, works for reforms to make congressional elections more competitive; has a 9-point platform which includes easier ballot access for independent and minor party candidates. P.O. Box 7309, North Kansas City, MO 64116. Membership is \$25 per year.

4. COMMITTEE FOR PARTY RENEWAL, a group of political scientists, party leaders, and elected officials who believe that strong political parties are needed for popular control of government. Membership is \$10 per year. Write John K. White, Dept. of Politics, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, DC 20064. The Committee filed a brief in support of fairer ballot access laws with the Supreme Court in 1991 in *Norman v Reed*.

5. FOUNDATION FOR FREE CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS, has non-profit status from the IRS. Consequently, it cannot lobby, but deductions to it are tax-deductible. The Foundation was organized to fund lawsuits which attack restrictive ballot access laws. 7404 Estaban Dr., Springfield VA 22151, tel. (703) 569-6782.

6. RAINBOW LOBBY, organized in 1985, initiated the "Penny Democracy in Debates" bill in Congress and maintains a lobbying office at 1660 L St., N.W., Suite 204, Washington, DC. 20036 tel. (202) 457-0700.

Edwin Meese, Tip O'Neil, and Richard Cheney.

Whether these people actually knew of their role in this unconstitutional plan is not known.

Further, and unreported by either CNN or the *New York Times*, the plan was not limited to nuclear attack but included, in the words of the executive order establishing the plan, any "national security emergency," defined as:

Any occurrence, including natural disaster, military attack, technological emergency, or other emergency, that seriously degrades or seriously threatens the national security of the United States.

In other words, officials of the Reagan administration were actively planning, with presidential approval, for a coup against the constitutional government of the United States under cover of an ill-defined

"national security emergency."

This coup could be carried out by the president himself declaring a national security emergency, or by unelected successors in case the president was killed.

Some details of the plan were reported as early as 1983 by the *San Francisco Examiner*. In 1987, the *Miami Herald* and the *Village Voice* wrote major stories on the subject, and the plan was covered by the *Progressive Review* that same year [Nbr 267, Nov 87]. During the Iran-Contra hearings, Rep. Jack Brooks asked Oliver North about the plan, but chair Daniel Inouye refused to let the matter be discussed in open session, even though Continuity of Government was theoretically (and constitutionally should be) a public matter.

Elements of the COG scheme go back to the Nixon administration and were further developed under Carter. But what started as reasonable planning for a major nuclear disaster became a potential excuse for martial law and a coup under Reagan.

Things got so out of hand that the then-Attorney General, William French Smith, felt compelled to write Robert McFarlane in 1984:

This department and others have repeatedly raised serious policy and legal objections to the creation of an "McFarlane czar" role for FEMA. Specific policy concerns regarding *** the expansion of the definition of severe McFarlane to encompass "routine" domestic law enforcement emergencies. Legal objections are related to the absence of presidential or congressional authorization for unilateral FEMA directives which seek to establish new federal government management structures...

In other words, at this point the White House was considering plans for applying the draconian emergency schemes drawn up for a nuclear holocaust to "routine domestic law enforcement McFarlane."

(It should be noted that though planning for the coup was not officially transferred from FEMA to the top secret National Security

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Council until 1988, NSC Advisor McFarlane was already, by 1984, deeply involved in the planning. North, incidentally, has subsequently also admitted to being involved the planning, but denies seeking anything unconstitutional).

To put these events in context, it is important to know that the director of FEMA at this time was General Louis Giuffrida. Some years earlier he had written a paper on *Legal Aspects of Managing Disorders* in which he said:

No constitution, no statute or ordinance can authorize Martial Rule. [It commences] upon a determination (not a declaration) by the senior military commander that the civil government must be replaced because it is no longer functioning anyway. *** The significance of Martial Rule in civil disorders is that it shifts control from civilians and to the military completely and without the necessity of a declaration, proclamation or other form of public manifestation. *** Martial Rule is limited only by the principle of necessary force.

In 1970, Giuffrida had written a paper for the Army War College in which he called for martial law in case of a national uprising by black militants. Among his ideas were "assembly centers or relocation camps" for at least 21 million "American Negroes."

During 1968 and 1972, Ronald Reagan, then governor of California, ran a series of war games called Cable Splicer, which was revealed in a 1975 story by Ron Ridenour in the *New Times*, an Arizona alternative paper.

Cable Splicer was a training exercise for martial law. The man in charge was Reagan's executive secretary, Edwin Meese -- later on the COG secret list of successor dictators of the United States. At one point, Meese told the Cable Splicer combatants: "This is an operation, this is an exercise, this is an objective which is going forward because in the long run *** it is the only way that will be able to prevail [against anti-war protests]."

Addressing the kickoff of Cable Splicer, Reagan told some 500

military and police officers:

You know, there are people in the state who, if they could see this gathering right now and my presence here, would decide their worst fears and convictions had been realized -- I was planning a military takeover."

These then, were the people planning for the country's future during an ill-defined emergency. It is clear from those documents publicly available that there was no role for Congress during such an event and none for the courts. Nor was there any reference to the clear constitutional provision that gives to the states those powers not enumerated in the generic document of our government. If the entire city of Washington were to be blown up, the constitutional answer to the question of who that runs the country is that it is the state governments. A constitutional emergency plan would have provided a structure under which this could have occurred.

Instead, the COG planners came up with such glaringly unconstitutional schemes as the creation of unelected "federal regional councils" which would, among other things "inform" elected local officials "about government policies and initiatives." And they only planned for continuity of the executive branch. No continuity of either legislative or judicial branch was contemplated. In short, an authoritarian dictatorship run by a combination of bureaucratic and military officials.

It is assumed, even by some shocked that such plans were even

considered, that they were a temporary aberration from whose madness we have been spared. There is, in fact, no evidence for this. The Continuity of Government program remains under the deepest shroud of secrecy. Its nature at the moment is simply unknown. The matter has not been publicly debated in the press or before Congress. We are left with nothing but what appears to be an increasingly naive trust in the permanence of constitutional government in the US.

As Harvard law professor Derek Bell has put it:

The constitutional protections we rely on are only as good as long as the factual situation is not dangerous. When the factual situation is perceived to be dangerous, either by the general public or by people in power, then you could have here the kind of thing we've seen happen in the Third World.

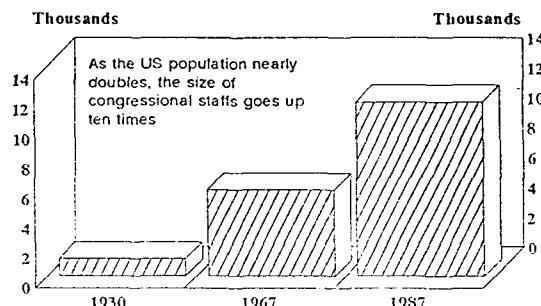
--Sam Smith

The mediacracy

Extral, the newsletter of the media watchdog FAIR, counted faces on the front pages of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *USA Today* for one month and came up some interesting stats:

Only 11% of the people on the front page of the *New York Times* were women; 13% in the *Washington Post* and 30% in *USA Today*. All the women pictured in the *Post* were victims of something.

Congressional Staff Size



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Just Politics

Last election year was for me a matter of serial conversions. I went through four candidates, including Mario Cuomo twice. There was also Pat Schroeder, who bowed out, and Paul Simon, in whom I lost interest when I decided that if he ever became president we would have to keep this country very, very neat.

This year I have decided to adopt a more pantheistic approach. I retain much of my early optimism concerning Tom Harkin, but lately I have also been providing some assistance to Gene McCarthy. And I am open to be born yet again should matters further clarify.

My involvement with the McCarthy campaign began out of friendship. My first self-assigned task was to come up with an answer to the question: why the hell are you running again? I soon found that what seemed on the surface to be highly quixotic only had that appearance due to the obscene, cynical and ultimately counterproductive rules under which politics are currently played. McCarthy, after all, has many of those qualities voters claim to desire and to a greater degree than any of the so-called serious candidate, *serious* in this case referring to one's political chances rather than one's political capability or concern. There is, in fact, no candidate more serious than McCarthy about politics itself; most of the others are serious primarily about getting elected.

Pat's going to win. I'm going to see to it. I don't care where I have to break in. -- G. Gordon Liddy

In experience, useful political service, intelligence, wisdom and imagination, he is simply in a different league from the rest. That this does not seem to matter in the slightest is far more a commentary on the state of current politics than it is about McCarthy himself.

A man who called for national health insurance in 1948, who was the only member of Congress willing to debate Joseph McCarthy, who took on LBJ over the Vietnam War and who warned at the outset of the weaknesses and evils of the system of campaign financing under which we

currently struggle, is surely someone to be taken seriously in any season. That the media finds it odd or irrelevant that he is running is as good a sign as any of the trivialization of both politics and journalism.

McCarthy's present message is once again breaking new ground with a call for a shorter work week. It is inevitable, given the character of our economy, that we will at some point see the wisdom of this. McCarthy suggests we start addressing it now. The rest of his economic program borders on the radical, including a wealth surtax on personal accumulations of more than \$5 million. Agree with him or not, there's a good chance that McCarthy is the only candidate who will make you think. And reflection, although not much in political vogue these days, is the *sine qua non* of good policy.

Gene McCarthy, like Plutarch, believes that politics is not an activity restricted to moments of opportunity but the avocation of a lifetime. To pursue it productively, you must be true not to the polls but to oneself and one's cause. It is the rare politician who steadfastly and over many years meets this standard -- I've only run across a handful; McCarthy is one. When you listen to him, you will hear the way politics could and should be. Which, the polls notwithstanding, is reason enough to give the guy a hand.

As for Tom Harkin, I find some glimmers of doubt. I initially admired him for his willingness to come out of the corner fighting, for his fine voting record, and for his understanding that politics is one of the theater arts. But his campaign seems shy of specifics and he has shown some disconcerting tendencies that belie his tough language and cries for fairness. It would be useful for him to explain, for example, what -- other than an infusion of pro-Israel PAC money -- led him to change from a supporter of justice towards Palestinians to the best friend Shamir has on the campaign trail. And he seems to act as though he wishes the gay issue would go away. On one occasion, when pressed on the matter, a Harkin staffer pointed to the senator's impressive record on the

rights of the disabled as an indication of how he would handle gay rights. That might be so, but it's not the sort of response expected of a guy who's trying to show how gutsy he is. Further, Harkin's constant reference to health care has so far produced less than a clear notion of what he seeks than one would expect from his rhetoric.

On the other hand, Harkin has yet to be matched by the other candidates in outlining the general themes of a good Democratic campaign. And he is developing a cadre of supporters so loyal that when Washington's *City Paper* published a contemptuous piece by a one-day volunteer in his campaign, it had to run three week's worth of responses from irate Harkin workers. That's a good sign. Enthusiasm and loyalty has been in short supply in the Democratic camp.

I am trying to overcome my sense that Bob Kerrey would be better suited as an oncologist on *General Hospital*. It's not fair, I know, especially for someone who has proposed the best national health care package of any of the candidates.

Kerrey, like Harkin, also opposed the Iraqi massacre, and was one of only eight senators to vote against the S&L bailout scheme. Kerrey has a fine voting record and, from reports, is a more pleasant personality than Harkin -- something not to be ignored when choosing who is going to hector you on TV for the next four or eight years. I find him bland, however, am already tired of hearing of his war injuries and resultant bitterness and am skeptical of his ability to capture the public imagination. But if he can win the yuppies' hearts with his generational gambit, more power to him.

One thing's for sure: he got a bum rap on the anti-Brown joke. It was a lousy joke, but derogatory only of another candidate. The single moral is that the only people with a worst sense of humor than Kerrey are those lesbians who thought the joke was directed at them. On the other hand, Mark Russell did manage to find something funny in it all, suggesting that Kerrey chalk it up to "youthful indiscretion."

Mario Cuomo would have been interesting, appealing and dangerous. I wanted him in 1984 and from time to time in 1988, but this time I was leery. I suspect it may be impossible for the governor of a large state to run successfully for president anymore; they just carry too much baggage such as the white Willie Horton case mentioned in a recent issue. And did we really want to spend the next year arguing over the New York state budget?

Further I worried about how closed his circle of advisers seems to be, the lackluster nature of his governorship and the mundane quality of his national proposals. Besides, whatever he is, and this has become far less certain over time, Cuomo would not have been the progressive candidate in this race.

Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown deserve credit for their courage to pursue their course despite the giggles of the establishment. Basically, Brown is running against the whole damn system, which is fine but for the moment leaves us in a somewhat anarchistic state since he hasn't really outlined what he would replace it with.

Further, Brown seems to have turned into a bit of a prig since he was last in the public eye, even complaining about having to take part in a political roast. And he has some of the same brooding, angst-ridden approach to politics that has made it so difficult for Cuomo to decide whether to run or not. This may be related to the fact that Brown and Cuomo are products of post-Reformation religious orders while the more cheerful McCarthy, on the other hand, was raised by the Benedictines, who date back to the 5th century before Catholicism became so burdened with gloom and guilt.

Tsongas has been running on the remarkable contention that the Democratic Party is not pro-business enough. If true, it suggests that the major corporate interests have wasted millions. In fact, one of the major problems with current American politics is that we have two pro-business parties rather than one.

It is true that the Democrats, like the Republicans, have not been very smart on business issues, but I'm not sure Tsongas really moves us that far ahead.

For example, he clings to myths such as the importance of our manufacturing base. In truth, the two largest private contributors to the American gross national product are real estate and retail trade. But neither Tsongas nor any of the other candidates have much to say about these sectors. It is further interesting to note that a recent *Wall Street Journal* piece by Peter Drucker suggests that the Japanese, for their part, have decided that manufacturing is not an efficient emphasis for an economically advanced country. Better to concentrate on technology, marketing and managing and leave the manufacturing to less developed countries like Korea and the United States.

Tsongas also fails to make a strong enough distinction between small business and large. It is the former that produces most of the new jobs in the country, the latter which get most of the attention. The only pro-business platform worth a candle would put the problems and potential of small business at the top of the agenda.

Will someone please stop Tom Brokaw before he kills again? The first Democratic debate demonstrated television's ability to make even the most significant matters seem silly and intelligent people appear ridiculous. If the Democratic Party has any residual sense it will insist that further debates are carried out without vogueing anchormen and with a format that allows the candidates to make their case -- one at a time and with dignity. At it was, the debate made *Firing Line* look like a seminar for doctoral candidates.

We associate seamy politics with Washington, so it is with some shock that I learned of the Republicans in South Dakota who were trying to get ex-Governor Janklow to run against Sen. Tom Daschle. These folks came up with a

game plan worthy of Sununu. Among the elements, according to the ten page proposal:

» The use of a party celebrating a Janklow's friend and legal advisor's recovery from cancer to elicit an emotional endorsement of the draft Janklow effort.

» Unspecified 'brutal attacks' on Daschle for a ten day period.

» A letter from Bush on the anniversary of the Gulf War saying "Bill, we need you."

» Emotional appeals at Christmas from friends.

A local paper reported that GOPers "admit some parts of the plan are unsavory but say it is politics as usual."

If nothing else, this campaign is more literary than average. At a fundraiser at Washington's Irish Times pub, Gene McCarthy cited the following from Cadoc, an ancient Irish poet, as his campaign theme:

I hate the judge who loves money, the scribe who loves war, chiefs who do not guard their subjects, and nations without vigor.

I hate houses without dwellers, lands untilled, fields that bear no harvest.

Landless clans, the agents of error, the oppressors of truth.

I hate him who respects not father or mother, those who make strife among friends.

A country in anarchy, lost learning, and uncertain boundaries.

I hate journeys without safety, families without strength, lawsuits without reason.

Ambushes and treasons, faults in counsel, and justice unhonored.

I hate a man without a trade, a laborer without freedom, a society without teachers, false witness before a judge, the undeserving exalted to high position.

Meanwhile, Bob Kerrey took time off to lecture at Harvard on Walker Percy's novel, *The Moviegoer*. The book describes a man's search for meaning. According to Alvin Sanoff, of *US News & World Report*, Percy's message was that one should stop and pay attention to people and objects. You may miss what really matters "if all you're doing is driving on to the next event, which of course we in politics do all the time."

--Sam Smith

Here are the largest economies of the world: nearly half are corporations

From rankings by the Conference Board, 1991

Rank-Name	GNP or Sales	
1-United States	\$5.23 trillion	
2-Japan	2.92 trillion	
3-Germany	1.27 trillion	
4-France	1.00 trillion	
5-Italy	872 billion	
6-Britain	834 billion	
7-Canada	500 billion	
8-China	393 billion	
9-Brazil	375 billion	
10-Spain	358 billion	
11-India	287 billion	
12-Australia	242 billion	
13-Netherlands	237 billion	
14-Switzerland	198 billion	
15-Korea	187 billion	
16-Sweden	184 billion	
17-Mexico	170 billion	
18-Belgium	162 billion	
19-Austria	132 billion	
20-General Motors	127 billion	
21-Finland	110 billion	
22-Denmark	105 billion	
23-Ford Motor	97 billion	
24-Norway	92 billion	
25-Saudi Arabia	90 billion	
26-Indonesia	88 billion	
27-Exxon	87 billion	
28-South Africa	86 billion	
29-Royal Dutch-Shell	85 billion	
30-Turkey	75 billion	
31-Argentina	69 billion	
32-Poland	67 billion	
33-Thailand	64 billion	
34-IBM	63 billion	
35-Toyota Motor	60 billion	
36-Hong Kong	59 billion	
37-Yugoslavia	59 billion	
38-General Electric	55 billion	
39-Greece	54 billion	
40-Algeria	53 billion	
41-Mobil	51 billion	
42-Hitachi	51 billion	
43-British Petroleum	49 billion	
44-IRI	49 billion	
45-Venezuela		47 billion
46-Israel		44 billion
47-Portugal		44 billion
48-Matsushita Electric		43 billion
49-Philippines		43 billion
50-Daimler-Benz		41 billion
51-Pakistan		40 billion
52-New Zealand		39 billion
53-Philip Morris		39 billion
54-Colombia		38 billion
55-Malaysia		37 billion
56-Fiat		37 billion
57-Chrysler		36 billion
58-Nissan		36 billion
59-Unilever		35 billion
60-DuPont		35 billion
61-Samsung Group		35 billion
62-Volkswagen		34 billion
63-Kuwait		33 billion
64-Siemens		33 billion
65-Egypt		32 billion
66-Exxon		32 billion
67-Ireland		30 billion
68-Toshiba		29 billion
69-Chevron		29 billion
70-Nestle		29 billion
71-United Arab Emirates		28 billion
72-Nigeria		28 billion
73-Singapore		28 billion
74-Renault		27 billion
75-ENI		27 billion
76-Hungary		27 billion
77-Philips		27 billion
78-Honda Motor		26 billion
79-BASF		25 billion
80-NEC		24 billion
81-Hoechst		24 billion
82-Amoco		24 billion
83-Peugeot		24 billion
84-BAT Industries		23 billion
85-Elf Aquitaine		23 billion
86-Bayer		23 billion
87-Peru		23 billion
88-Chile		23 billion
89-CGE		22 billion
90-Morocco		22 billion
91-Imperial Chemical		22 billion
92-Procter & Gamble		21 billion
93-Mitsubishi Electric		21 billion
94-Asea Brown Boveri		21 billion
95-Bulgaria		21 billion
96-Nippon Steel		21 billion
97-Boeing		20 billion
98-Puerto Rico		20 billion
99-Occidental Petroleum		20 billion
100-Daewoo		20 billion

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Mediocracy cont'd

In the midst of a gushing *Washington Post* review of "Commitment," a recent addition to the never ending library of how-to books for hungry capitalists, David Warsh cites the author's discussion of airline deregulation and in the process offers a stunning insight into the current state of what the corporations like to call competition.

Author Pankaj Ghemawat notes that it was assumed that when the airline industry was deregulated, other firms would enter the field, cutting profits from their artificial highs.

It happened at first -- even Brockway Glass started an airline for a few months. Warsh continued:

"Then factors such as hub-and-spoke efficiencies and giant computerized reservation systems came into play, sending the interlopers [sic] running for cover, while particular companies in the industry, instead of seeing their margins shrink, emerged as more profitable than ever."

Thus, the former icon of capitalism, the little guy with a better mousetrap

(or airline) is squeezed out by "hub and spoke efficiencies" and "giant computerized reservation systems" -- the former created by wheeling and dealing with municipal airport authorities for oligarchic landing rights and the latter controlled by large airline companies. The little guy has become an "interloper." This is what we're going to teach the Soviets?

Drug busts

The drug peace movement won a rare court battle in Boston recently when the state supreme court ruled that the Boston Police Department may not require drug tests. Wrote Justice Herbert Wilkins, "Constitutional safeguard should not be abandoned simply because there is a drug problem in this country."

Old news

The burning oil wells in Kuwait may have been put out, but what the media isn't saying is what the British World Conservation Monitoring

Centre has pointed out: "Burning wells cause less pollution damage than non-burning gushers." According to reports, a large number of uncapped high pressure wells are still spewing plumes of oil onto the landscape, creating a river system of black crude and lakes of oil, some of which are within ten kilometres of the sea. While the wells were on fire, most of the oil was kept from the ground. That's no longer the case.

Our story on the collateral damage caused by the Iraqi massacre (March 1991) has been selected as one of 25 finalists, out of more than 700 nominations, for this year's top censored stories list. Our 1990 story on the S&L bailout made that year's top ten list, which is compiled annually by Project Censored.

Amazing coincidences

Allen B. Hubbard, executive director of the Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness and a member of Quayle's personal staff, has a major stake in a business

affected by regulations the council is considering. Says Senator Allen Gore, Hubbard has "more than \$1 million in a company that is polluting the environment, but he is in charge of the regulations governing the pollution."

Chiefs of gaffes

White House chiefs of staff:

Sherman Adams
H. R. Haldeman
Alexander Haig
Hamilton Jordan
Donald Regan
John Sununu

Isn't it time to get back to start using the cabinet again?

epidemic among college males, a leading expert on the subject suggests that it has a correlation to two beloved academic phenomena: college fraternities and college athletics. Bernice Sandler of the Association of American Colleges reports that she has documented more than 100 cases of campus gang rape since 1985 and that 90% of these cases occurred at fraternity houses with the rest involving athletes.

Roadsigns

Between 1982 and 1989, according to the Department of Commerce, multinational corporations -- i.e. our biggest businesses -- created a total of 16 thousand jobs in America. smaller and/or new businesses created 18 million.

A recent *Washington Post* story reports that in 1988 there were 111 counties in the US without a doctor.

Another sign of the changing relationship between the federal and state government: *The New York*

Times reports that states are jumping ahead of the US government on family leave policy. At least 13 states have passed laws requiring businesses to grant unpaid family leave and at least 40 states provide some kind of leave rights to their employees.

By 1995, one third of US students will be from minority groups, according to a study sponsored by the College Board and the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Says author Robin Etter Zuniga, "The white birth rate has declined, so the younger the age group, the more you'll see this sort of thing. Many states of no single majority anymore.

According to the study, ethnic minorities will make up a majority of students in four states by 1995.

Field notes

Media without Democracy and What to Do About It. A thoughtful and imaginative report from the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. [3306 Ross Place NW, Washington DC 20008]

Furthermore

Although the problem of sexual assaults on college campuses is often treated as a hormonal

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